1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 \ Taiwan Hokkien AD5

associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen[3] an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
574 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered